

Message Text

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TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, PARM

SUBJECT: CSCE AND MBFR

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL; GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

1. RECENT STATEMENTS BY SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES TO ALLIES, INCLUDING GROMYKO'S COMMENT TO THE SECRETARY (STATE 213648), SUGGEST THAT SOVIETS ARE WIDELY CALLING ALLIED ATTENTION TO POSSIBILITY THAT MBFR NEGOTIATIONS COULD BE ADVANCED IF CSCE WERE SUCCESSFULLY CONCLUDED. IN EFFECT, THE SOVIETS THUS ARE ESTABLISHING A PROCEDURAL LINKAGE BETWEEN MBFR AND CSCE THAT THE ALLIES WILL NEED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT IN THEIR APPROACH TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS. THUS FAR WE HAVE NOT REACTED TO THE SOVIET SUGGESTION, NOR ARE WE AWARE OF POSITIONS TAKEN BY OTHER ALLIES ON THIS ISSUE. HOWEVER, IN DEALING WITH THIS MATTER, WE BELIEVE THE ALLIES SHOULD CONSULT ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE SOVIET STANCE, AND ON WAYS THE ALLIES COULD DRAW ADVANTAGE THEMSELVES FROM THE

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LINKAGE BEING ESTABLISHED BY THE SOVIETS.

2. ACCORDINGLY, AT PERMREP LUNCH ON OCTOBER 1, YOU SHOULD RAISE THIS MATTER, AND PROPOSE A GENERAL EXCHANGE OF ALLIED VIEWS IN NAC ON IMPLICATIONS OF THE SOVIET STANCE. SPECIFICALLY, YOU SHOULD ALSO INDICATE THAT WE WOULD WELCOME ALLIED THOUGHTS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF TURNING THE PRESENT SITUATION TO ALLIED ADVANTAGE BY MAKING PROGRESS

IN CSCE CONTINGENT UPON EASTERN MOVEMENT IN MBFR. THIS WOULD, IN EFFECT, ENTAIL A "REVERSE LINKAGE" OF THE TWO NEGOTIATIONS THAT WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THE PROCESS USED SUCCESSFULLY IN 1972 TO ORCHESTRATE THE INITIATION OF MBFR AND CSCE TALKS.

3. YOU MAY POINT OUT THAT TO MAKE SUCH A REVERSE LINKAGE CREDIBLE, THE ALLIES, OF COURSE, WOULD NEED TO (A) BE PREPARED FOR CSCE TALKS TO SPIN-OUT OVER A PERIOD PERHAPS LONGER THAN NOW ANTICIPATED, (B) CONSEQUENTLY ADOPT A STRONG UNITED FRONT IN ASSERTING THEIR INTENTION TO INSIST ON MBFR PROGRESS CONCURRENT WITH CSCE PROGRESS, AND (C) BE READY TO STAND UP TO POSSIBLE SOVIET IRE.

4. MOREOVER, WE RECOGNIZE THAT MOST ALLIES HAVE PREFERRED TO AVOID LINKAGE, AND LIMIT TRADES TO ELEMENTS INTERNAL TO EACH OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, THE SOVIET STEP IN LINKING THE TALKS PROCEDURALLY MAY HAVE CREATED A NEW SITUATION IN WHICH THE ALLIES MAY HAVE OPPORTUNITIES THAT DID NOT EXIST PREVIOUSLY TO ADVANCE MBFR, WHICH OTHERWISE MAY REMAIN STALLED AND THEREBY REINFORCE WESTERN PARLIAMENTARY PRESSURES FOR UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS.

5. YOU SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT WE HAVE AN OPEN MIND ON THIS ISSUE, AND WISH THE BENEFIT OF FULL AND FRANK ALLIED CONSULTATION ON BEST DIRECTION IN WHICH TO PROCEED. KISSINGER

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